

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 JAKART 05998 160805Z

11

ACTION SS-30

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 /031 W

----- 039666

O P 160720Z MAY 74

FM AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2329

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY SAIGON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TEHRAN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY WARSAW PRIORITY

USDEL PARIS PRIORITY

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR

AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

S E C R E T JAKARTA 5998

EXDIS

EA FOR ASST SEC INGERSOLL

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR,VS,UN,ID

SUBJECT: POSSIBILITY INDONESIA WILL WITHDRAW FROM ICCS

REFS: A. JAKARTA 5920 B. STATE 101571 C. TEHRAN 3888

SUMMARY: DURING TALK MAY 16 FONMIN MALIK INDICATED
INDONESIAN WITHDRAWAL FROM ICCS WAS REAL POSSIBILITY
WITH MILITARY -- INCLUDING PRESIDENT SUHARTO HIMSELF --
INCREASINGLY DOUBTFUL OF VALUE GOI ROLE. I HAVE WRITTEN
MALIK LETTER CONTAINING POINTS REF B FOR HIS USE
WITHIN GOI, WHICH MAY GIVE US TIME BUT FURTHER STEPS
MAY BE NECESSARY. END SUMMARY

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1. DURING CALL ON FONMIN MALIK EARLY MORNING MAY 16 I

RAISED QUESTION OF INFORMATION MINISTER MASHURI'S STATEMENT THAT INDONESIA MIGHT WITHDRAW FROM ICCS (REF A) ASKING FOR OFFICIAL GOI STANCE ON MATTER. MALIK (WHOM I HAD ALERTED TO SUBJECT MATTER MY CALL AT RECEPTION PREVIOUS NIGHT) STATED THAT MASHURI SPOKE WITHOUT SUFFICIENT KNOWLEDGE OF GOI POLICY WHICH IN THIS CASE DETERMINED BY PRESIDENT SUHARTO IN CONSULTATION WITH SENIOR MILITARY AND MALIK HIMSELF.

2. MALIK STATED THAT AT RECENT CABINET MEETING HE HAD REPORTED TO SUHARTO THAT VIET CONG WERE LEAVING SAIGON. (I INTERJECTED THAT WHILE VIET CONG HAD WALKED OUT OF TPJMC THEY HAD NOT TO OUR KNOWLEDGE LEFT SAIGON.) REACTION OF SUHARTO AND MILITARY PRESENT WAS THAT, WITH SUSPENSION OF PARIS TALKS AND TPJMC, "WHAT IS THE JOB OF ICCS?", WITH PRESIDENT ADDING THAT, "IF THEY DO NOT WANT US, IT IS BETTER WE GO HOME." MALIK SAID HE STRESSED CONTINUING POLITICAL RATIONALE FOR INDONESIAN PARTICIPATION IN ICCS, AND DECISION WAS FOR MALIK TO GET OPINIONS FROM BOTH SIDES AS TO WHETHER THEY WERE PREPARED TO "GO ON OR NOT" (I.E., PRESUMABLY GO ON WITH BUSINESS OF WORKING TOWARDS PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.)

3. IN REPLY TO MY QUERY AS TO WHETHER GOI TAKING SOUNDINGS OF INTERESTED PARTIES, MALIK SAID THEY WERE, AND ASKED FOR US VIEWS. I READ HIM TEXT OF PARAS 1B THROUGH 1H REF B, AND OFFERED TO SEND A LETTER WITH SAME POINTS OR MAKE THEM PERSONALLY TO PRESIDENT, IF MALIK THOUGHT THIS MIGHT BE USEFUL. MALIK SAID LETTER TO HIM WOULD BE HELPFUL, AND ASKED THAT HE RECEIVE IT SAME MORNING SO THAT IN AFTERNOON MEETING WITH STATE SECRETARY SUDHARMONO HE COULD GIVE COPY FOR PRESIDENT'S PERUSAL. LETTER HAS BEEN DELIVERED.

4. IN WELCOMING LETTER MALIK MADE POINT THAT "MILITARY PEOPLE LOON ON ONE SIDE ONLY" AND ADDED THAT, WHILE NO FINAL ACTION HAS BEEN TAKEN, IT POSSIBLE GOI (READ SUHARTO) MIGHT DECIDE WITHIN 4-5 DAYS TO PULL OUT INDONESIAN ICCS TEAM.

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5. I SAID I ASSUMED A COLLAPSE IN SAIGON, A RENEWAL OF WAR OR A NVN TAKEOVER WOULD BE OF DEEP CONCERN TO GOI. SINCE MALIK PERSONALLY AND GOI AS GOVERNMENT HAVE GOOD CREDENTIALS IN HANOI AND IN EASTERN BLOC AND THIR WORLD IN GENERAL, I WONDERED IF THERE WERE NOT AN ALTERNATIVE TO PULLING OUT THROUGH DIPLOMATIC ROLE FOR INDONESIAN IN GETTING ICCS TO FUNCTION BETTER.

FURTHER I THOUGHT POLAND AND HUNGARY WOULD BE EMBARRASSED
IF ICCS COLLAPSED ENTIRELY.

6. MALIK SAID HE AGREED, AND COMMENTED THAT REPORTS
FROM INDONESIAN EMBASSY IN HANOI INDICATED NVN DOES
NOT WANT WAR, BUT ALSO WANTED TO TAKE ROLE INDEPENDENT
OF USSR AND CHINA. HE ASKED WHAT US COULD DO DIPLO-
MATICALLY, SUGGESTING THAT HE WOULD BE VERY INTERESTED
IN KNOWING THE RESULTS OF ANY DIALOGUE THE SECRETARY
MIGHT BE HAVING WITH LE DUC THO.

7. NOTING THAT PROPOSAL WAS A PERSONAL ONE, I ASKED
MALIK IF HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR A US SENIOR
EXPERT ON VIETNAM/ICCS TO COME FROM WASHINGTON TO
EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH GOI AT HIS LEVEL AND WITH HIS
ADVISERS. MALIK WELCOMED IDEA, AND SAID HE WOULD RETURN
TO JAKARTA MAY 23 AND WOULD NOT TRAVEL FOR SOME PERIOD
THEREAFTER.

8. AT THIS JUNCTURE I TOOK OCCASION TO NOTE THAT
IRANIANS WERE INVESTING IN FACILITIES IN SAIGON AND
EXTENDING TOURS OF THEIR ICCS TEAM (PARA 5 REF C)
STRESSING THAT THIS INDICATED THEIR INTENTION TO STICK
IT OUT.

9. IN INTERESTING ASIDE, MALIK NOTED THAT DURING RECENT
ASEAN MEETING, AFTER HE AND AMB DHARSONO HAD BRIEFED
ASSEMBLAGE ON INDONESIA'S ICCS ROLE AND STATED THEY
WOULD STAY ON, MALAYSIANS AND FILIPINOS HAD
ASKED WHY INDONESIA DID NOT
PULL OUT, WITH ONLY THAILAND SEEMING TO SUPPORT INDONESIA'S
CONTINUED PARTICIPATION.

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10. COMMENTS FOLLOW IN SEPTEL.
NEWSOM

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NNN

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